

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 896

August 28 1953

FOURPENCE (U.S. 5 cents)

The evidence the
United Nations
did not hear

see page three

H-BOMB MONOPOLY ENDED

WORLD WAR A DOUBLE SUICIDE PACT

THERE are now at least two States in the world with the ability to make the Hydrogen Bomb.

That was the news the world heard last week. It was significant that few newspapers put it on the front page. But behind the editorial policies lay an unmistakable regard for the enormity of the issue involved.

The London Daily Mail claimed that the explosion of the H-Bomb in Russia had picked a project being urged on President Eisenhower for a staged explosion of the American Bomb. According to the report UN observers, including Russians, were to be invited to the test to "see for themselves what the bomb can mean for civilisation."

The paper goes on to say that the President was not convinced by the arguments put to him in favour of the staged test, but now that the idea was dead, he would consider other proposals for bringing world attention to the power of the bomb.

NO REAL DEFENCE

Wilson Broadbent, the Daily Mail correspondent writing from Washington, then continues:

"Several of the people pressing the President are convinced that there is no real defence against the H-Bomb's devastating power in the hands of a desperate enemy. They believe that its use would make a future war nothing more than a double suicide pact."

Among the suggestions put to the President, the report adds, is one that he should release for the immediate education of Americans all the stark facts about the H-Bomb. Supporters of this idea, who are influential men, assert that there has been too much secrecy and that the people of America are ignorant and, indeed, almost oblivious to the meaning of the Bomb. After public opinion has been aroused here, these advisers suggest that President Eisenhower should launch a world-wide campaign either for the abolition of the Bomb or control of all nuclear weapons.

ANNOUNCEMENT IN SEPTEMBER

The correspondent says that President Eisenhower is understood to have favoured that idea from the first and is planning to make a big announcement in September.

The Daily Herald made the comment that the news of Russia's H-Bomb might influence reconsideration of the British decision "not to spend millions of pounds on H-Bombs," while the Times published confirmations of the explosion by both the British Foreign Office and Mr. Lewis Strauss, chairman of the American atomic energy commission.

On Sunday the British press carried banner headlines announcing the development of new anti-aircraft rockets which it is claimed will track an aeroplane and destroy it. No one is able to evade these rockets said the announcements. It was also reported that the British rocket projectiles were at the testing stage. These reports did appear on the front page.

DOUBLE CAUTION URGED

A commentator of the Sunday Observer wrote:

"The idea that (the American atomic stockpile) could be diplomatically used to enforce a true internationalisation of atomic energy must now in all probability be considered dead. Thoughts will increasingly turn towards strengthening defence against atomic attack by the development of guided missiles. But for the moment the stark truth remains that war between the Great Powers which possess atomic weapons involves wholly incalculable perils. It can only be hoped that this will make statesmen in all countries doubly cautious in considering war as a means of resolving their conflicts."

New Press Agency to specialise in race relations

HOUSMAN'S World Press Agency which is to be housed in Peace News' offices, was registered last month.

It will specialise in reports on Colonial matters, race relations and news of constructive peace-making in all parts of the globe. It is primarily designed to serve poorly-financed newspapers in Africa and elsewhere.

The editorial panel includes Vera Brittain, Hugh Brock, Alex Comfort, Laurence Housman, J. Allen Skinner, Reginald Sorensen, MP, and Tom Wardle.

American armament exports increase

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S report to Congress last week on the mutual security programme for the first six months of the year showed that shipments of military equipment and weapons to the rest of the world was almost two-thirds higher than in the six months July-December, 1952.

Up to the end of May of this year (that is, for five months only) 26,564 tanks and combat vehicles had been shipped overseas, 140,865 other vehicles 25,234 artillery pieces, 4,126 aircraft, 1,500,000 machine guns and small arms, and nearly twenty million rounds of artillery ammunition and more than seven hundred million rounds of machine-gun and small arms ammunition. There were also 510 naval vessels supplied.

The destinations of all these things are not given "for reasons of security," but monthly shipments to Europe averaged arms to the value of 294 million dollars as compared with a monthly average of 177 million dollars for the last six months of 1952.

GANDHI, UNESCO AND THE PRESS

By a Correspondent

TWO British newspapers, the Manchester Guardian and the Evening Standard of London have seen fit to comment editorially on the decision of UNESCO to publish the seminar on "the contribution of Gandhian outlook and technique to the solution of tension between and within nations," which was held at Delhi in January of this year.

It is intensely interesting that they should have chosen to comment at all; more interesting still is the manner and purport of their comment.

The Manchester Guardian

The Manchester Guardian is at pains (August 15) to explain that "the proceedings in New Delhi were banal beyond reason." The newspaper is exercised about what it considers the inability of the seminar to add "hardly a single fact to what is already known." It implies that some of the basic questions on non-violence were evaded or mildly suppressed.

But perhaps the note most worth remarking is the paper's view that Gandhi would be an unlikely champion of the ideas of collective security or an authoritative World State. "The Gandhian way is almost certainly not the same way as collective security," it argues. It asks whether Gandhi would have approved of an international army or the use of the napalm bomb.

These comments are no doubt justified. The Gandhian way is essentially and unchangeably the way of non-violence. It cannot be conceived to imply the method of peace by government or brotherhood through police control. It may not compromise on a United Nation's hand grenade or the baton of a world government policeman, without losing its nature.

To the extent therefore that guidance in the study of Gandhi's way was given at Delhi by people not totally committed to non-violence, to that extent must the seminar have been disappointing and uninspiring.

The Evening Standard

That, however, is little ground for the intemperate attack by the Evening Standard on the whole principle of the talks. That journal writes in this vein: "The members of the conference shared Mr. Nehru's inability to say anything really worthwhile about the subject they were discussing—as well as his ability to make their contributions at great length. The records of their proceedings cover 400 pages—400 pages of arid, platitudinous argument."

The point of the editorial is reached near the end: "That Mr. Nehru and his Government want to publicise themselves through the conference is not surprising. What is surprising is that UNESCO now propose to publish an account of the meeting—to act as Mr. Nehru's publicity agent at the expense of the taxpayers of the world, those of Britain prominently among them."

"Britain cannot prevent Mr. Nehru from holding whatever conferences he chooses, however futile they may be. But Britain can prevent her money being used, however indirectly, for subsidising Mr. Nehru—by walking out of UNESCO."

We are left wondering why there should be all this spleen about Mr. Nehru from a newspaper with no obligation to line up with the wild men of the US Republican Party. On the other hand the rather paltry attitude to one of the most promising of the special agencies for the development of a world outlook is what we have come to expect from the Beaverbrook Press.

QUAKER RELIEF IN KOREA

More team members sail this month

BRITISH and American Quakers are to begin relief work in Korea this autumn under the auspices of UNKRA (United Nations Korean Relief and Reconstruction Agency). Mr. and Mrs. Frank Hunt, pioneer members of the team, arrived in Pusan last month and have since spent some time in Kusan, where the Quaker Unit's first undertaking will be the rehabilitation of a hospital.

Five more members of the team will sail from Southampton on August 30, for the United States en route for Korea. They are Dr. Alexander MacDonald of Perth and Dr. Ingle Wright of Hampstead; Miss Irene Howard, a nurse, of Southport; Mr. David Ward of Bristol, physiotherapist; and Mr. Geoffrey Hemmingsway of Leigh-on-Sea, social worker. They will continue their journey via the west coast of America and Tokyo, where they will join up with their American colleagues towards the end of September.

As Federation approaches: BATON CHARGES, CENSORSHIP

From our Central Africa Correspondent

THE first conference of the Federal Party has come to an end. One of its acts has been to refer the question of a definition of "partnership" to a special committee as the Assembly of the Party could come to no conclusion.

So having believed in the concept of "partnership" for two years officially and having promoted Central African Federation on the basis of that belief, they now have to decide what it means!

NON-CO-OPERATION CONTINUES

Non-co-operation with white landowners in the matter of rents continues. In protest against the shortage of land for themselves, several Nyasaland Africans have moved on to undeveloped land near their homes and attempted to bring it under cultivation.

Extra police have been moved into these districts and baton charges have taken place in an effort to move some of the tenants. There is no evidence of any direct retaliation.

On some estates where rents have not been paid, owners have torn down the tenants' homes. But they have been rebuilt with remarkable alacrity.

SECURITY FORCES INCREASED

More chiefs who had been acting as Native Authorities have now been deposed. Those chiefs who still collaborate with the Government have no great following among the people—their Courts are not attended and they keep themselves very much to themselves. The only reaction of the Government to the deepening resistance is to increase the security forces.

The Nyasaland Times has published several pro-Federation and pro-co-operation letters purporting to come from Africans. In every case the letters have been unsigned.

In a recent edition of this paper the Editor publishes a letter criticising Chief S. C. Mwase, the Nyasaland African leader. It is unsigned. The same newspaper reports that it has received a letter from Chief Mwase, "which we do not intend to publish."

WILLARD GOMANI'S APPEAL

The result of the appeal of Willard Goman, son of Chief Goman, who was recently sentenced to seven months' imprisonment for his part in the incident arising from his father's arrest, has been announced. The appeal was dismissed.

One of the few bright spots in a darkening scene is the decision of the Lilongwe Agricultural of Nyasaland to open its membership to all races.

This was the result of a ballot among 160 European members of the Society. Ninety-six per cent voted in favour of multi-racial membership.

Lilongwe is in the Northern Province where race relations are still fairly good and where there are few white settlers.

Destroy people but save property American General proposes new strategy

ACCORDING to the San Francisco Chronicle (8/8/53) Lieut-General H. S. Aurand advocates that in World War III the methods used should aim at inflicting death but not material destruction.

General Aurand was commanding general of the US Army in the Pacific during World War II. He was director of research and development to the US General Staff from 1946 to 1948. He retired as director of logistics to the US General Staff in 1949.

"Once the enemy's productive facilities have been destroyed," he says, "the victor must work for the vanquished"; therefore the aim must be to "bring death but not material destruction," and this would require the resort to "unconventional methods."

"No one seems to question the need for military victory. But the diplomats are still making moves to 'outlaw' the most effective methods of killing people." He held that the "free world" should be prepared to carry on the kind of warfare that would kill the enemy without destroying his wealth and productive facilities.

Asked what unconventional methods he had in mind, he declined to answer, but he agreed that germ warfare, poison gas warfare, and warfare by means of the atomic cloud for radiation purposes could all be described as unconventional.

PACIFIST SUMMER CONFERENCE



Photograph taken at the Peace Pledge Union summer holiday conference held at Abergele this month. See report on page three.

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28th August, 1953

The U.S. may go out

WE have already referred in this column to the possibility that the United States may leave the United Nations. Developments at the General Assembly meeting have clearly brought this possibility closer and we do well to face it.

It must be remembered that the Senate Appropriations Committee had already unanimously approved a declaration that US funds should be withheld from the United Nations if the Peking Government were admitted. President Eisenhower prevented this declaration from having effect.

Despite the President's action many things have been done since to emphasise the intention expressed in the resolution. Senator Knowland, who now leads the United States Republican Party as well as speaking for the "China Lobby," has once again declared that should the Peking Government be brought into the United Nations as the real government of China the United States should leave it. He proposes to move a resolution in the Senate if moves are made to give China representation.

Senator Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has put out an official statement for the benefit of the UN Assembly delegates that if China were permitted to "blast its way into the United Nations" it would be a serious matter for the American public and Congress. Senator Wiley observed that if it ever became necessary for the United States to withdraw from UN it would undoubtedly mean the end of the United Nations and a serious setback to world peace.

We do not minimise the undesirable consequences of a withdrawal of the USA from the United Nations or the serious intention of these threats. Nevertheless we believe it to be very important that they should be disregarded in any decisions reached by the UN, and in the attitude of the nations represented at UN.

France is joined with the USA in a refusal to recognise China. It is governed in this policy by the requirements of its war in Indo-China and the very serious extent to which that war has made it a mere satellite of the USA. It may be depended upon to support the American attitude. It is even possible that it may carry this to the extent of withdrawing from UN if America does so, although this is doubtful. The great majority of the nations of the West, however, are of the view that the actual government of China is China's government, and are in favour of acting accordingly in regard to UN. They will do much more harm to the United Nations if they permit American threats to deflect them from their policy than if they vote according to what they think right and have to let the USA go.

The United Nations will do great damage to its morale as an international assembly if it permits the general will to be overborne by the threats of a powerful minority. But leaving aside this aspect UN would suffer a great deal more if Russia were to withdraw as a protest against such a dictated decision, and particularly if, in withdrawing it were to carry its own satellites with it. With the satellites out of account this would mean that UN would have to sacrifice the membership of a people of 200 millions in order to retain the membership of a people of 160 millions.

The real damage would be a great deal worse than this however, for without Russia UN would be anti-Communist combination and would no longer have any genuine standing as a world assembly providing the machinery for peoples of different governmental systems to work out together the means to peaceful co-existence. UN would have become simply an instrument for the organisation of world war.

Apart from Russia, even as things stand at present the exclusion of China means that we keep out the spokesmen for 500 million people in order to retain the spokesmen for 160 millions.

We are doubtless destined to have to listen to many more threats from the USA, and particularly from the spokesmen of the Knowland-Wiley wing of the Republican Party. These threats should be ignored. Senator Knowland represents an all-too-big section of American public opinion, but he does not represent it all. If all Americans were as brash and blustering as the Knowlands, Wileys and McCarthys it would be a sad look-out for the world; but this is not so. There are millions of Americans, probably the majority, who are decent, reasonable people. These will be assisted if the remainder of the world refuses to be intimidated by the attempts of the Knowlands and Wileys to make minority views in world affairs prevail by means of threats.

If America has to be permitted to depart from UN, so be it. It may do the rest of the world good to have a period in which it can carry on its discussions in the absence of the voice of America; and possibly America would be better for a period in which she did not have to pay quite so much attention to world affairs.

Chiang and China

AT the beginning of the Korean war President Truman "neutralised" Formosa by prohibiting Chiang's troops on that island from attacking the Chinese mainland while protecting the island by the presence of the Seventh Fleet.

In February of this year when, without consultation of the 15 nations engaged with it in the Korean war, the US announced the ending of this prohibition, it nevertheless required, according to Chiang, an agreement by the Chinese Nationalists that they would not "increase for the present the tempo" of their activities against China without the approval of the United States.

This secret agreement has now been made public because Chiang wishes it to be understood that it is not the intellectual character of the Formosa forces that has prevented any considerable action, but the fact that the US Government had him on a leash. Since this secret agreement has been referred to, the Commander of the Seventh Fleet, Vice-Admiral Joseph Clark, has said that if the Chinese Nationalists decided on offensive action there would be no need for them to consult the American command first. This is not a denial of Chiang's claim that a secret undertaking had been required but an intimation that the ban has been lifted.

What is clear is that despite Chiang's anxiety to assert that he has been held back he is in no position to attack the mainland. Any attack he is able to make will be an American attack and this gives added urgency to the need by UN to settle the Chinese question.

Total war and conditioned men

IT is probably an inevitable development of total war that war should be made against the minds of the prisoners. This becomes easier in that the tendency everywhere today is to condition men to ways of thought rather than to develop their capacity for independent thinking.

A young American, for instance, is not encouraged to think about the issues of social relationships presented for consideration by the existence of Communism. He has to start from the premise that Communism is wholly evil and he learns to direct his mind away from those aspects of thought that may suggest that he suffers from a Communist taint and may consequently militate against his chances in life. Then, if he is called up for the draft, he has to submit in the army to the moral conditioning that will prevent him from confronting himself with such questions as whether the burning up with napalm of the homes and bodies of those he is defending is a thing that can be justified.

We choose the young American as an example because he represents the majority of those who have since been submitted to the counter-conditioning applied to the prisoners of war held by the Chinese. The conditioning of the young Englishman is quite as enveloping in its way, and as there is conscription in Britain while the USA enforces military service only on a portion of its youth, this aspect applies more extensively so far as Britain is concerned.

Minds that have been already subject to conditioning provide tractable material for further submission to the process, even if it is directed to other ends. It is quite evident that the counter-conditioning applied by the Chinese to their PoWs has had very considerable success. When the young American soldier comes out of captivity he is likely to have to submit to a new "brain-washing" process; and the pitiful aspect of this business is that the psychologist is now introduced. The youngster has ceased to be a mind to be reasoned with and has become a mental mechanism to be adjusted.

Violating men's minds

PATRICK O'DONOVAN gave some account in the last issue of the Observer of what has happened to many of the men held

At least one scientist is worried

Today I am at a Family Institute near the city of Olympia, Wash. in the far Northwest. We are not far from the Canadian border, incidentally, and a number of Canadians, including a delightful Doukhobor family are here.

A "Family Institute," as the name suggests, is a conference to which the whole family comes and the problems of bringing up children and resolving the Russian-American conflict or revolutionising the economic system are looked at together as various aspects of pacifist thinking and living. As was the case with the first such institute a few years ago in S. California, this one is under the joint auspices of the American Friends Service Committee and the FOR.

I am going to devote the rest of this week's letter to a summary of a paper read little over a month ago at a much more imposing gathering than this, viz. the annual Public Affairs Institute under the auspices of the University of Virginia at Charlottesville, almost under the shadow of the national capitol of the Pentagon, if you prefer, in Washington.

The paper, as one guessed from reading between the lines of the reference to it in the N. Y. Times, had the effect of at least a medium-sized atomic bomb on the numerous and distinguished audience. The more so since it was given by Professor M. A. Tuve, a distinguished physicist and leading member of the Carnegie Institute of Washington.

Dr. Tuve began by saying that as a physicist he would be expected to frighten them with statistics on future atomic devastation and to stress the need for further mass destruction weapons and enlarged "military contracts for research at our universities." In passing he professed to be "acutely aware of the necessity

of military preparations in a world full of challenge and danger." Whether this was said with his tongue in his cheek I do not know.

He launched, however, into a devastating attack upon the subsidising of research, and in particular allegedly basic research, in the universities by the military services and the Atomic Energy Commission. In not a few instances these subsidies cover more than half of all research in the physical sciences.

Dr. Tuve gave figures which apparently prove that the impression created that thus more basic research is being done than before the War is false and results from a change in the manner of keeping university accounts. He flatly asserted that the idea of project support for basic research is a bankrupt and corrupt notion: "it was born as a device by which Government agencies and officials would satisfy the General Accounting Office that they were making a contract for something which would be specified, like a hardware item."

He cited a case which many of his hearers must have been able to identify, of a University vice-president deliberately seeking a new subsidised project when the expiration of one subsidy threatened several departments with lay-offs and presently being offered a project having directly to do with warfare. The vice-president promptly accepted the offer and the personnel of the physics, chemistry and mathematics departments "though with great reluctance" also bowed to the degrading situation.

As for secrecy, Dr. Tuve declared, "I simply say that secret work has no place on a campus and in the training of students."

BEHIND THE NEWS

by the Chinese. What happens today puts a greater strain on a man's spirit than the earlier type of imprisonment which was merely directed to withholding a man from use as a soldier. "Propaganda was continuous and insidious lectures were voluntary after the first few months, but it was better to go." "There was perpetual suggestion working like water on stone." Those more susceptible to these processes were separated from those who did not lend themselves so readily to the treatment, so that there was as little counter-influence to the conditioning process as possible.

What we hear of in the press today on this subject is of course confined to instances of the violating of men's minds by the Chinese. It must not be assumed however that the practice is confined to them. The Americans have been equally busy. We are not likely ever to learn so much about what has been done to the minds of Chinese prisoners as we are to know about what the Chinese are doing to UN prisoners. We have however already been able to give in Peace News a striking example of one of the things that has happened on Koje, and we do not suppose this was an isolated piece of activity.

The American Department of Army kept at work on Koje a Staff of one army chaplain holding the rank of Lieut-colonel, assisted by two missionary chaplains, seven Department of Army civilians, and seven South Korean pastors. Their propaganda was also continuous and they had an elaborate scheme of graduation and rewards. We do not know what this considerable staff has been doing since the Koje troubles, but at the time when the Koje riots had been broken and the island put again under control it was reported that one tenth of the prisoners had become Christians by the standards of selection laid down by Col. Whipple the chaplain in charge. In twelve months a total of 4,261 Christians of Protestant denominations among the prisoners had been increased to 15,602.

Germ warfare investigation wanted

WE learn that Colonel Schwable and Major Frey, who since they have been in Chinese hands have both given information regarding the alleged resort to germ warfare by the American military authorities, have been touring the prisoner camps in Manchuria giving an account of what they know of the matter.

This is not the way in which this question should be handled. If the Chinese maintain these charges they should now call for an investigating body appointed by members of the United Nations not participating in the Korean war. Colonel Schwable and Major Frey as well as the other airmen who the Chinese claim have also given information about American germ warfare activities should be transferred to a neutral country such as Switzerland or Sweden where they should be examined by the investigating body.

These men should be represented by Counsel and the investigating body should have power to call before them the numerous officers and others who have been referred to by these men as participating in the preparation for germ warfare. These also should be represented by Counsel. Examination and cross-examination of all these along the lines of ordinary court procedure would obviously make it possible to decide upon the validity or otherwise of these charges.

Extend the food war?

DREW PEARSON, the American journalist who claims to have originated the proposal to supply food to East Germany is now advocating an extension of this policy. He thinks that the US should drop food by balloon in East Germany and repeat the food programme in other areas behind the Iron Curtain. He remarks: "A similar programme in Vienna for instance would have the electrifying result in Southern Europe that the Berlin program is having in Northern Europe."

It would be a much more elevating spectacle if a Christian country were to make gifts purely on a basis of need, without ulterior motive—inspired that is to say by love and not by hate; but we agree with the comment of our correspondent Heinz K. Schutzki, who remarked last week that if the cold war is to be waged at all this is the way we should prefer to see it done.

A genuine East-West Conference

MEMBERS of the Society of Friends in Sweden have been able to arrange an East-West conference of those desiring to work for peace. We should like to see more such. They brought together a small group of Quakers from Britain and America and a group of four Baptist pastors from Russia plus an interpreter; and of course Swedish members of the Society of Friends were also present at the discussions.

A Manchester Guardian note on the subject concludes: "Warm friendships were created, we laughed a lot together, and we all felt at the end a renewed sense of purpose in working for a peaceful world."

The development of this feeling is all the good and doubtless much of it is created at the conferences of the World Peace Council and even more at Youth Festivals such as the one recently held at Bucharest. That they developed a clearer understanding of the points of view on each side is to be doubted however. The Western participants were clearly impressed by the reality of the Russian anxiety based on the view that there was Western intention to launch an aggressive war against the Communist bloc. We have never doubted that this fear must be there and it must be said that present US pronouncements and actions provide much to make that fear more acute.

The singularly naïve one-sidedness of the views expressed from the Russian side, however, brings depression. It is quite possible that to unprejudiced eyes the views of the British and American Quakers would have seemed equally one-sided, but we find it hard to believe that this was so. We take a few examples. The Russian Baptist pastor believed that the improvement in the international atmosphere to be perceived after the death of Stalin was due to the activities of the Partisans of Peace, and that the relaxation in tension had come about entirely through Western concessions!

The other example is less surprising because it is familiar to us. Having referred to the Quaker visit to Russia for the purpose of "bridge-building" they asked, "But what are some bridge-building to be done at home? What efforts have you made to build bridges between Quakers and Communists in Britain?"

It is a question that is often posed by those sympathetic to the Communist views and methods, and a great deal can be said in reply to it. But surely another obvious question arises to be dealt with at the same time. There is to be bridge-building at home and pacifists are to seek to build bridges of understanding with Communists, this surely applies in the Eastern bloc also, and Communists there should seek to build bridges with pacifists. If that is to be done it must be in some other way than by denying them all rights of organisation and putting them in prison if they venture to open their mouths as pacifists.

LETTER FROM U.S.A.

By A. J. Muste

Even more important and encouraging, however, than these courageous utterances are specific matters relating to the politics of research are Dr. Tuve's philosophical, and might accurately say, spiritual comments on modern man's predicament. "Man is a being," he said "not just a machine, and the themes such as electronics research which has been discussing, are excessively technical and largely shorn of their philosophical importance by their direct role in the current struggle for military and political world power. University research now needs to emphasise constructive studies much less directly connected with force and material power." Here I suggest Dr. Tuve is giving counsel which may be heeded also in England and other places where conditions relative to the control of research by the military are still so much better than here in the U.S.A.

We need to admit, he concludes, "the validity of at least some criticisms of our economic views and the reality of some social injustices. We need to be able to discuss possible changes without being accused of being Communists or subversives. We need research men who will study the origin and growth of our irrational fears and the extreme positions we take, for example, in our fiscal and military support of an astonishing collection of dissimilar foreign governments. We need universities that dare to examine questions even our private foundations cannot subsidise without prompt challenge by committees of Congress."

Whether Dr. Tuve can get, or thinks he can get, such things without the complete abolition of the war system is a subject I should dearly love to discuss with him.

THE UNHEARD TESTIMONY

It is said in some quarters that South Africa is attempting to imitate the regime of Hitler. If this is so there is one major difference with the original—that is in the number of the government's opponents in the country, for almost every one of the non-white population must be reckoned as an opponent of the apartheid Government.

Now the regime of Dr. Malan is not so confident of its capacity to control the internal situation at a time of crisis, nor is it so indifferent to the influences of countries sympathetic to the non-whites, that it could have risked what it has risked, or plan what it is planning, unless there were definite understanding of outside support. South Africa receives this support from three main sources:

1. Great Britain 2. U.S.A. 3. Powers with colonial territories in Africa and elsewhere.

The support takes the form of either endorsement of the South African Government position or deliberate abstention at UN and other international organisations. It is likely that there is also an understanding that assistance would be given in the event of a non-white rising.

The reasons why these groups support the South African government are:

1. Colonialism. Because they practice race discrimination in territories under their own control, and thus any criticism of South Africa is implied criticism of themselves.

2. The importance of good economic relations with South Africa. South Africa is an important market for the sale of British and American goods and for the investment of capital (many British and American companies are established there). Good relations also means favourable access to the supplies of gold, manganese, and uranium now being mined.

3. War preparation. It was made clear in the utterances of responsible Government members that South Africa regards herself as a full-piece of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). During the period of office of Dr. Malan's Government there have been many conferences in Africa, America and Europe which appear to have formulated a grand design for African defence.

DEFENCE DESIGN

Terms of this design are as follows:

1. Integrated continental communications and transport system: there is as yet no immediate economic necessity for this, but it would be invaluable militarily.

2. More centralised administrations. In the Union, Central Africa, Kenya and South West Africa, governmental control has been intensified. The disposal of the British Protectorates bordering on the Union is a problem in this connection, but there was unmistakable belief in the Union that they would sooner or later be incorporated in South Africa with British endorsement.

3. The development of bases, harbours, training schools: In spite of considerable

demands from Nationalist Party members, the British naval base at Simonstown has not reverted to the Union. The issue has been dropped and it appears that the base is being improved. Army, naval and air force training goes on continuously.

4. War expenditure in the Union was over £40 million per year at the time I left. This year's budget estimates an expenditure of £223 million, £10 million higher than last year, due among other things, reports the Economist, to increased defence expenditure.

by Tom Wardle

5. The suggested introduction of conscription in South Africa: The Active Citizen Force is already in existence and requires the compulsory performance of military training on a part-time basis. There is a substantial body of opinion in South Africa in favour of full-time military service and the Government is reported to be interested. Conscription for Europeans of eighteen years and upwards has been introduced into Kenya.

6. The supply of uranium, manganese and other materials to the US and Britain: It had been made clear all along that these resources were for the use of the Western nations. It is obvious that these are important war materials.

7. The supply of armaments to South Africa: Britain had already sold two destroyers, many jet fighters and some tanks to South Africa. The US was to supply other armaments.

There has been no suggestion that South African non-whites should figure in these defence arrangements except in so far as they might be attached to military arms for menial, non-combatant purposes.

CONDITIONS OF CO-OPERATION

There was little doubt from the speeches of politicians and the attitude of the Press that this co-operation with the NATO powers was being given by South Africa under certain conditions—that those powers did not press for any change in the racial status quo in South Africa. There was in fact no eagerness for those powers to bring about a change in view of their own Colonial interests, and if there were any difference of opinion it was largely that Britain and the US would have wished the co-operation of the blacks as well as the whites, but failing this would settle for white co-operation alone.

The South African detachment to Korea was apparently sent with some reluctance and statesmen lost no opportunity to remind the UN and particularly the West, that South Africa was standing by them and expected them to stand by South Africa.

This is further borne out by the fact that the critics of South Africa at UN have been mainly those countries which are not deeply involved with either of the power groupings. It is also significant in this connection that along with South Africa, Russia did not sign the Declaration of Human Rights, and the US,

TWO weeks ago Peace News reported the United Nations hearing on South Africa at which Tom Wardle of Peace News staff, gave evidence.

His testimony was halted by the Chairman when he began to speak about the external influences supporting South Africa and thereby enabling it to pursue its policy of race oppression.

We give here a précis of the unheard portion of the testimony as Tom Wardle would have given it had he been allowed.

although she originally signed it, has so far failed to ratify.

WHAT UN MAY DO

Investigations: I submit that all those States which have lent either moral or material support to South Africa in the pursuit of her racist policies or deliberately remained silent when their protests might have been effective, are themselves party to the violation of the Charter of the UN. I hope that the UN will see fit to investigate still further these suggestions of collusion in order that it may discover the extent to which other members of UN are involved in perpetuating racial discrimination.

World education in harmony: It is fundamental to the right approach to this problem that it be realised that racialism cannot be countered with racialism. UN should be careful to see that no anti-Afrikaner or anti-white sentiment develops in respect of South Africa. Race matters should be publicly discussed and educational institutions should continue to receive encouragement in this field from UN and its agencies.

Non-governmental organisations: Most particularly helpful, because more discreet and personal, could be the work of non-governmental organisations within and without South Africa. It would be important for such organisations to bear in mind the spiritual malaise of the white people in South Africa and to employ a kindly and considerate method. The growth of more liberal-minded bodies in South Africa since the passive resistance movement is an indication of the success of the non-violent attitude of the resisters.

The International Court of Justice: It is to be hoped that the Herero people should now be allowed to have recourse to the Security Council under Article 94 (2) of the Charter. As it is likely that representatives of the Hereros would not be permitted to leave South West Africa, some acknowledged person or persons should be allowed to appeal on their behalf.

The Security Council: The problem of South Africa might well be referred to the Security Council as constituting a threat to world peace, for action under Article 41, providing for measures not involving the use of armed force.

Representation of the people: Perhaps more than by any other recommendations UN itself within its own system may assist South Africa to a more egalitarian outlook. Viz: the introduction of constitutional reforms at the amending conference of the UN (due to take place in 1955) intended to provide for the direct representation of non-self-governing peoples, the more equitable representation of smaller nations, amendment of the Security Council electoral arrangements and the encouragement of further commissions of this nature.

Amendment of the latter is necessary in order that the Security Council shall not always be steered by the big powers (in the case of South Africa, Britain and the US who both hold veto powers, might be described as "interested parties").

Such developments would help to dispel the impression current among non-white people in

INCONGRUITY



DURING the recent cricket match between the villages of Much Mucking and Puddlecombe Parva, it was observed that the fielder assigned to the position of square leg was wandering about with his eyes fixed on the ground, paying no attention to the game.

At the close of the innings, the captain approached this fielder and enquired courteously as to the cause of his preoccupation.

"Well, you see," replied the fielder, "I had been informed that a particularly rare species of oxalis acetosella was to be found in this field, and I thought that only by joining your Club could I obtain adequate opportunities for investigating the herbage. Unfortunately I forgot that the grass would be ruthlessly mown, so I fear my quest is fruitless."

This case of the man who joined a cricket club for the purpose of botanical research provides a good example of the utilisation of an established institution for other than its customary purpose, and I mention it because it reminds me of Peace News.

For the main purpose of newspapers in general is to increase circulation, and their selection of reading matter is regarded primarily as a means to that end.

But here is a newspaper that selects its reading matter first and thinks of circulation afterwards—a reversal of the customary procedure which causes proprietors of other newspapers to shake their heads in bewilderment and ask what journalism is coming to.

What can you do with a paper that so flagrantly violates the law of supply and demand? Same as you have to do with nines, railways, and other necessary industries which don't pay—subsidise them out of taxation.

And that's another eccentric feature of P.N.: it lets the taxpayer fix his own rate.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since Aug. 14: £270 8s. 4d.

Total for 1953: £909 8s. 1d.

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South Africa that UN is manipulated by the powers, and would lend greater credence to UN's declared objectives.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF RACIALISM

There is obviously a great need for the clarification of first principles.

I find it difficult to understand that many of the churches and churchmen who have criticised South Africa have been able to sanction the use of napalm and atomic bombs. The uranium and gold which makes these bombs possible is coming increasingly from South Africa where it is produced under circumstances of racial discrimination.

The moral schizophrenia which I noted in white South Africans has its counterpart outside South Africa. So we find it possible to take the Communion: the blood of Jesus is upon our lips while the blood of man is upon our hands.

Unless critics of South Africa can cure themselves of this spiritual and moral ailment, then I consider that their criticism will be of little constructive value. Let them address themselves to the non-violent conversion of white South Africa by their own example.

The Peace Pledge Union Summer Holiday Conference

An experiment to be repeated

By Stuart Morris

THE verdict of those who shared in the P.P.U. Summer Holiday Conference at Abergele was expressed in a unanimous request for a similar gathering next year.

It was the recollection of the success of the first Summer Conference at Swanwick in 1937 and of the subsequent one at Harrogate that made the Development Committee feel that another attempt should be made to hold a summer gathering for P.P.U. members.

Families specially welcome

The Conference was held at Sunray, a large guest house and the arrangements were aimed at making it possible for families to attend and at emphasising the holiday aspect of the gathering by confining formal discussions to the evenings.

61 adults and 20 children filled Sunray to capacity, and other P.P.U. members wanted to come had there been more accommodation. Those present represented a real cross section of the Movement. They came from various parts of Britain and included those who were active in Groups and others who were not regular attenders at Group meetings.

The lighter side

The weather was exceedingly kind and enabled everyone to make full use of the facilities for bathing and playing on the sand, and for walks and excursions. On the Monday a coach load went off to Llanberis, from where some climbed Snowdon on foot, while others availed themselves of the mountain railway. On the Thursday another party went for a day's tour to the Swallow Falls, Betws-Y-Coed and other beauty spots in North Wales. There was also a morning excursion to St. Asaph's Cathedral and other places of interest in the vicinity, and an evening trip to Rhyl

to see the illuminations and hear a concert party.

Problems for pacifists

The Saturday evening was taken up with an informal gathering at which those present were introduced to each other and plans for the week were agreed.

On Sunday evening, Stuart Morris gave a talk on his experiences on Ellis Island and his recent tour in America, with Minnie Pallister in the chair. On the Monday evening, a variation of the usual brains trust was tried. Under the chairmanship of George Gibb, questions were asked by members of the conference and opened for discussion by all present, instead of having a picked team to supply the answers.

Crime and non-violence

On the Tuesday, when Phyllis Vallance was in the chair, Frank Dawtry gave a most interesting talk on the progress which had been made in removing the worst forms of violence from punishment. Even in the most modern methods of probation and assistance there remained the threat of penalty if the probationer did not co-operate, but sufficient advance had been made to give encouragement to those who believed that the principle of non-violence should govern all relationships.

It was right that pacifists who were so often concerned with the wider relationships of international affairs, should try to apply their theories to those nearer at hand. The treatment of crime had been based upon a fear of the criminal and the determination to get rid of him by execution, transportation, or by shutting him off from normal life behind high walls.

Even the restriction of the death penalty to a few crimes and the replacement of the old houses of correction by the more modern

prisons did not mean any fundamental change in that basic attitude.

Frank Dawtry gave evidence to show that the idea that heavy penalties, including the death penalty, acted as a deterrent, was untrue, and he outlined the various steps taken to reform the prison system and the whole concept of punishment. The new scientific approach meant that it was the aim to study the offender rather than the offence, and try to find the appropriate treatment.

Such changes had had their effect not only on prisoners, but on prison officials and the general public as well.

The discussion which followed went on until 10.45 p.m. and showed the interest which had been aroused. Frank Dawtry was warmly thanked for the wealth of information he had supplied.

An account of Vera Brittain's lecture, etc., will be published next week.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee.

Conference for C.O.s.

Young men (and women too) 16-18 years approx. who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors and would like to discuss the matter, are invited to a one day Conference to be held at Friends House

on Saturday September 5

commencing at 2.30 p.m.

Speaker: John Hoyland.

Tea provided.

A postcard to Aubrey Brocklehurst, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1 from those intending to attend would be appreciated (but is not essential).

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ve can get, or thinks he can about the complete abolition of a subject I should deny him.

THE PRÉFET'S DIRTY JOB

EVEN now, years later, we keep hearing reminders of the terrible moral dilemmas with which the war confronted government officials.

Not long ago, my younger son came back from a trip to Italy, and a gendarme examining his passport at the border, said: "Trocmé? Are you the son of Pastor Trocmé?"

"Yes," said Daniel, surprised.

"During the war, when I was near Le Chambon, I was told to arrest your father, but I managed not to do it, because it was a dirty job!"

Yes, it was a dirty job, and that man managed not to do it, but how many others had to do dirty jobs because they were officials! Some of them believed that the Government was right; others felt they must obey even if the Government was not right, as a soldier who obeys even though he feels that war is wrong.

We had two interesting experiences of this kind with the Préfet of the Haute Loire, and



THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AT CHAMBON
Right and wrong are not always clear

the captain of the gendarmerie in Le Puy. Both of them helped to execute unjust laws and both of them had to ask for help for themselves later on, when things had changed and those whom they had arrested were powerful and free.

It was February 13, 1943, around 7 o'clock in the evening, when two gendarmes knocked at the door of the old presbytere in Le Chambon sur Lignon and asked to see Pastor Trocmé. I replied that he had gone to a meeting and would return later, but that I could answer all their questions.

They explained that it was something very personal and that they would wait. I took them to my husband's office.

When my husband came back, he rushed to his office, found himself face to face with the gendarmes and was told that he was under arrest. Why? In those days no one dared to ask why such things happened.

PROTECTING THE JEWS

André went to the attic where a German Jew lay hidden and told him not to worry because the gendarmes were not for him, and I went to the cellar to warn the old German Jewish woman there not to keep putting her head into the kitchen, because it was dangerous for her and for us.

I asked the gendarmes if I might prepare André's clothes and they said I could have all the time I needed, but that I should not notify any friends or neighbours of what was happening. A few days earlier, needing clothes, I had undone the "prison suitcase" I had prepared months before. So many times André had been menaced by prison that I had a special suitcase for this purpose, but clothes had become scarce!

While Mlle. Reynier and I prepared things, André and the children had supper with the gendarmes. The latter were so bewildered by the invitation that they could not eat, and the conversation was rather dull.

It happened that André and I had been invited for supper that evening by a church counsellor, M. Gibert. As so often happened in the rush of work we forgot the invitation, and M. Gibert sent his daughter to remind us of her father's birthday. She came, saw the police, ran away, and told everyone what was happening in the parsonage. A few minutes later, the people of the village started a sort of procession, coming to say goodbye and to bring presents. Queer presents: things not seen for years, put aside as precious items for very special days—things like sardines, soap, sausage, toilet-paper*, eau de cologne and candles. But at the end we discovered that the

More about non-violent resistance in war-time France

by MAGDA TROCMÉ

matches were missing and the gendarme (the Captain) gave his own, saying he would make a report of the way events had proceeded that evening, how everybody had been calm, and the population friendly and full of love. Later we discovered that the police had been frightened, suspecting some kind of revolt. Many police cars arrived and the telephone and telegraph had been stopped. At the same time, M. Theis, the headmaster of the College Cevenol, and M. Darcissac, the headmaster of the elementary school, were arrested, too.

André had the honour of being arrested by the Capitaine de gendarmerie himself! In Le Puy the prisoners were put to sleep with sheets, but with the door locked, and next morning they had no more private cars, but only the *panier à salade*—the special car for prisoners. At the station they had to walk between two gendarmes and they were taken to the concentration camp of St. Paul d'Yjeaux, without any more consideration at all.

Next morning—and here comes the conflict of conscience—two gendarmes of Tence, the next small town, came to see me and tell me that they wanted to apologize for what had happened the evening before! They knew perfectly well that my husband was a fine man, but they had had to execute the orders from above. The Capitaine de gendarmerie, the evening before, watching us all singing Luther's hymn as my husband left the house, told me that never in his life had he been obliged to perform such a job, and that it was

against his will, because he admired and respected the man he was to arrest.

AFTER THE LIBERATION

Years went by and the liberation came. Everything was changed. M. Laval was executed and M. Pétain arrested. The crowds who had acclaimed Pétain turned against him, and completely forgot that once they had admired him. Once more André preached against the public opinion, saying that the Pétain actions had been the actions of almost all the French nation.

M. Bach, the Préfet who had sent the order to arrest André, was in prison and the captain was in difficulties. Mme. Bach wrote asking André to be a witness for her husband at the trial, and the captain asked for a letter stating how kind he had been the day of André's arrest.

Yes, we could do it, because both of them had obeyed their government, being only human, and with right and wrong judged by men so difficult to establish. If Hitler had won the war, Pétain would have been a great man, and M. Bach and the captain would surely have had promotions and honours instead of prison, trials and difficulties.

When the time of M. Bach's trial came, André was in Sweden and I went to the Court and spoke of Le Chambon, of the mysterious telephone calls telling us that the police would come, or simply advising us to be cautious. I told them that M. Bach had offered to help me when André was in concentration camp, and if M. Bach had really wanted to obey the Government's orders, the work of Le Chambon would have been stopped immediately.

Mme. Bach sat next to me during the trial and cried most of the time. I told her I was sure that her husband would be free, that the trial was turning out well, but she still was in despair, fearing that he would lose his grade in the army, his decorations and perhaps his

WHY DON'T THE SOLDIERS SHOOT?

The military psychiatrist's job: to expose the brute

PSYCHIATRISTS point out that a man's failure to fire his weapon may be traceable to inhibitions placed upon him in infancy.

Every child is born with aggressive tendencies. But his impulses to commit violence are soon suppressed in the family. His parents disapprove, often with threats of punishment, if—for example—he should crown brother Billy with a baseball bat.

As the child grows older, the inhibitions are further strengthened by cultural taboos (a gentleman keeps his temper), religious sanctions (Thou Shalt Not Kill), plus fears of legal reprisal.

All his life, the boy's mind works unconsciously to suppress any desire to kill. Then, abruptly, he is put into a soldier's suit and told to shoot fellow human beings. One man in two loses the resulting struggle to break down the lifelong inhibition.

I went to the University of Michigan to talk to two outstanding military psychiatrists: Dr. Raymond W. Wagoner is head of the university's department of psychiatry and an adviser on psychiatric problems of the call-up to Director of Selective Service Major General Lewis B. Hershey; Dr. M. M. Frohlich is a psychiatrist who, as a lieutenant colonel during World War II, handled thousands of combat-fatigue casualties at the 29th General Hospital. They cited case after case of soldiers developing actual paralysis on the battlefield the first time they were required to fire.

Dr. Frohlich suggests there are at least three ways (preferably to be used in combination) of removing these inhibitions temporarily so that soldiers will shoot. The most efficient method is to prompt them to lose their individual identities by promoting a mob psychology. People in a mob override their inhibitions and act as they would never dare act as individuals. A second approach is to make the man feel that because he's in a uniform and because he's an integral part of a group of men he likes and respects, somehow it is all right to join them in setting aside one's lifelong inhibitions against killing. The third tack is to provide the man with a father-like leader who, he can believe, is supremely strong, wise and just; so that he will accept his leader's orders to set aside temporarily the taboos against killing.

From practical experience, Marshall and other Army experts made these assumptions years ago. Marshall began a long, emphatic campaign for the Army to look for its "natural leaders," as opposed to leaders selected according to the accepted standards of the civilian world. He insisted that "cause and national pride are not important; pride in company is the major factor in getting a man to participate in battle." He also discovered that a man gets terribly lonely in his foxhole.

The isolated man, says Marshall, will develop a sense of having been deserted by his fellows, and he will reason to himself that if he does not shoot and expose his position, the enemy will not fire back. Marshall recommended the revolutionary principle that non-coms and junior officers do not fire their own weapons, but instead crawl from foxhole to foxhole, to keep the mob or group psychology going. Colonel John G. Hill, assistant chief of the Army's Organisation and Training Division, told me that orders have gone out that, where possible, at least two men should occupy a single foxhole on outpost duty, instead of one, to militate against the so-called "loneliness of the battlefield." Also, the

The American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) have reprinted in leaflet form an article from *Collier's Magazine* (Nov. 8, 1952) by Bill Davidson "Why Half our Combat Soldiers Fail to Shoot" because the answer which military men have found for this problem "strikes at the very root of our 4,000 year old system of morality."

Military psychiatrists have probed deeply to find out why their most determined efforts to make good soldiers (one general put it, "The best killers in the world") had been only 12% to 20% effective and only about one man in five could be expected to fire in battle.

The psychologists have come to the conclusion that moral convictions must be rooted out before a youth can become a good soldier.

The AFSC say that this article by Bill Davidson, of which a further extract appears below, affirms their long-held belief that war must be rejected if democracy and moral values are to survive.

Army now is experimenting with two Brownie automatic rifle men in every squad, instead of one, to double the number of rallying points for the men, since rifle fire builds up around automatic-weapons fire.

The most dramatic innovation has been talking it up—the yelling in combat which has accompanied many of our most heroic actions in Korea.

This new idea is direct application of the mob-psychology technique.

Marshall had noted in World War II that our troops did not sing or shout among themselves, as they had done in World War I. They were so ingrained with the thought of maintaining complete silence that they continually worried about such things as their dog tags jangling together.

"Let 'em holler," Marshall advocated. "In most cases, the enemy knows where they are anyway, so the noise doesn't matter. The yelling is vitally important to keep reminding the man that he is part of a group, not just a poor lone individual, and it can stir up chain reactions that will convert lambs into lions on the battlefield."

This theory, too, has been put into practice in Korea. Today we have a talking, jabbering Army. The relationship between the shouting and the number of men firing their weapons became apparent early. There have been many reports of men making heroic charges against the enemy while shouting incongruities like college cheers—or obscenities in Chinese.

Soldiers carried too much weight

There is still another field in which General Marshall is "functioning as a scout in a scientific area where there isn't even a trail"—as Dr. Ellis Johnson, director of the Operations Research Office, put it. Marshall has discovered that fear can cause such fatigue that a soldier literally becomes too tired to fight or fire his rifle. Not only that, but he found that the fear-caused fatigue is measurable in terms of the load a man can carry.

On the Han River in Korea, for instance, "Wolfhound" Regiment went into an attack

Great interest was aroused by the publication in *Peace News* on May 29, of an account on non-violent resistance in France during the Nazi occupation.

The report described the action taken by the people of the little village of Chambon sur Lignon and their protestant pastor, André Trocmé, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The villagers refused to submit to the humiliations of the Vichy regime, and under the leadership of the Trocmés organised an escape route and hiding places for Jews.

This article is reprinted from *FELLOWSHIP* organ of the American F.O.R.

MAGDA TROCMÉ

French nationality!

I was amazed—yes, it was a French soldier being judged, and that French soldier obeyed Marshal Pétain, the hero of Verdun. He had intended to do his duty and freedom would not mean anything to him if his loyalty to France was not recognized.

My husband, too, had acted as he thought a French citizen should have acted, and these men had been arrested for their convictions, history condemning one of these men at a certain time, and condemning the other at another. Right and wrong are not always clear and easy to understand, and this is the great problem of mankind, the great problem of human conscience.

*Later in the concentration camp my husband discovered that here and there, among the toilet-paper something was written on certain leaves. He looked closer and read verses of the Bible, written in great haste and he felt grateful to read those words, chosen from among the most encouraging ones!

under a new company commander, who ordered them to wear their parkas as a protection against the cold. The order brought their total load to 45 pounds, or eight pounds more than they usually carried into battle.

It was midday. The company was fresh from the crack L Company of the famed 1st Battle-tested and in top physical condition. But they advanced only 1,600 yards up the ridge before they dropped from exhaustion. As the official report records it they "were falling asleep even as the enemy fire came on them."

Today, the Operations Research Office is measuring fear-caused fatigue in terms of the metabolic effects in the blood, urine and so on. But meantime Marshall has estimated that because of the fear-fatigue factor a soldier cannot go into combat and reasonably be expected to fire unless his total load is no more than 40 pounds (the soldiers' load used to be 60 pounds and upward). An Army survey unit under Colonel Henry Kelly confirms the figure and has redesigned the uniform, canteen, the ammunition and the first-aid kit in order to bring the total combat weight below Marshall's 40-pound limit. Marshall has set a total load of 48 pounds for a soldier in training, which means that he estimates the fear-fatigue factor to be the equivalent of eight extra pounds.

All in all we are making progress in solving the problem of why soldiers don't shoot. But several questions still remain. Is it significant that in our era we must submerge the dignity of the individual? Must we employ techniques that run counter to everything in our society, our religion, our 4,000-year-old system of morality? General Marshall has this to say:

"In Russia, where life is cheap and violent death frequent, the Red soldiers have been reared with far fewer inhibitions against killing. This is confirmed by British Lieutenant Sir General Giffard Martel, only high-ranking Allied officer permitted to observe the Red Army closely in World War II. He wrote: 'Their one weapon is the willingness of their troops to die in active participation on the battlefield. It exceeds anything we have seen with other troops in modern times.'

"Now, I don't believe this means they get 100 per cent of their men to fire. I don't believe such perfection is possible in any army. In fact, I feel that if we get our own number of fliers up to 75 per cent, that's the best we possibly can expect. But since all battle is a combination of survival fights, we cannot—for our own survival—allow the enemy to start out with any advantage in the number of small arms being fired. We have gone as far as we can go in the perfecting of weapons. Our only chance to move forward is to remould the human material."

Aware that the nature of this "remoulding"—emphasis on mob-psychology technique—carries disturbing implications, I wondered there might be some justification on spiritual grounds. I spoke with several clergymen. They were all agreed. One said:

"In a life-and-death struggle, it is sometimes necessary to lift the curtain of morality and civilization from men's souls to expose the brute beneath. But when the crisis is over, if the curtain is old and badly designed and substantially built, it will easily drop back into place again—to mask the brute for ever."

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FROM TANKS TO TRACTORS

ONE of the most fascinating programmes I have seen on TV for many months was the one which showed how waste bog land in the Highlands of Scotland could be reclaimed by the use of modern mechanical methods.

We saw the swamp, largely under water, being drained as a result of the use of a new type of tractor with broad wheels, which was driven into the bog cutting up a wide ditch to drain the bog and convert it into grassland. Next year this would feed cattle and the year after produce crops.

There are 12,000,000 acres of this land in Britain and it could be effectively drained for a fraction of the money which is now being spent on armaments which will be obsolete in a few years time.

If the tank-producing factories were turned on to the kind of tractor we saw that night on T.V. and the men who are now kicking their heels in idleness at the base on the Suez Canal were on this kind of work, we would be well on the way to solving the problem of our food supplies and the problem of the dollar gap.

NEW PAGE OF HISTORY

And if we made up our minds that we had done with the arms race and were determined not to get involved in any future war in the atom age and had decided to devote our resources, our technical experience and manpower to reclaiming the waste land of the world we would be turning a new page in the history of civilisation.

In Africa, India, China and the Middle East undernourished people are needing food, and the lesson of the T.V. film applies the whole world over. I have seen the same problem in China, the U.S.S.R.; in Egypt, Israel and Ireland. The earth is rich but we neglect it because of our preoccupation with preparations for war.

A blue print of what could be done if the United Nations really settled down to the task that confronts our civilisation is outlined in detail in Harold Wilson's new book "The War on World Poverty" (Gollancz 14s.). It is perhaps too full of statistics to appeal to the ordinary man but it is a mine of information about the world's economic needs and what could be achieved if we really started in earnest to turn our tanks into tractors and our munition plants into fertiliser factories.

Of course most of the world's more enlightened politicians have already paid lip service to this idea but to put it into practice is another thing. For one cannot have a big armaments bill and find money for schemes for financing development in backward countries at one and the same time.

REARMAMENT AND COLOMBO PLAN

That is why the Colombo Plan makes such slow progress. Rearmament swallows up the materials, the machines, and the men that are needed before development schemes can get going. The backward areas need roads, bridges, and technical and organising initiative and experience which are now going into war preparations. Harold Wilson wants a World Development Authority, but it is impossible to get this going if half the world is engaged

on waging cold war on the other half.

He points out:

"But the cost of rearmament cannot be measured solely in terms of the diversion of possible export resources to arms production. The rearmament programme joined with Conservative financial policies has caused a fall in national production after years of steady, indeed spectacular increase.

The impact of Britain's contribution to world development depends not only on size of the arms programme, but also on the level of production."

If rearmament has halted the production of what is needed for draining the swamps and irrigating the deserts then little progress can be made in the plans that are necessary if we are to raise the standard of life of Asia and Africa.

RUSSIANS TOO ARE HANDICAPPED

That seems to me to be the primary duty of world statesmen, to work out policies which will divert expenditure from armaments to productions which will be of benefit to mankind.

Anybody who has read closely Mr. Malenkov's recent speech on the Soviet Budget must be aware that Russian plans for reconstruction within her own borders are handicapped and crippled, because of her military expenditure.

The Russians like everybody else would benefit if a World Development Authority were given the finance and the powers to conduct activities which would direct men's energies from war preparations to peaceful reconstruction. What new hopes would be awakened throughout the world if all the big powers could come together and support Mr. Harold Wilson's plea for a World Development Authority with a Ten Year Plan for Peace!

A New God

THE world of technological progress sought to banish fear, superstition, and arbitrary power, and arrange an air-conditioned paradise run on schedule, where pain, want and accident should be no more, and there would be no need either of God or conscience or any other out-moded restriction upon healthy physical and cultural fulfilment.

And now, at the end of the line of better medicines, better bed-springs, television, overnight flights across the continent, and effortless cookery, wait fear, superstition and arbitrary power, this time with no face and no shadow of benevolence.

Who that has seen pictures of that mushroom-shaped cloud boiling up into the stratosphere with its load of death and fragmented matter, has not been caught up in grim awe and somehow sensed the arrival of a new god?

Jerre Bruner, in *The Plough, for Summer*, 1953.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

HEROES CAN DO NO WRONG

UNLESS you fly or have a car, the usual way of travelling from Kenya to the Copper Belt is by bus. There is no railway, but long distance buses cover the 1,500 miles from Nairobi to Ndola; and that was the way I travelled, on roads that ran almost all the way through bush.

The last lap is a four-days' run from Mbeya, in South West Tanganyika, to Broken Hill or Ndola. You spend the second night at the Crested Crane. I arrived on the weekly bus and shared a table that evening with three other travellers.

The Scottish minister, who had motored over for a funeral, was cultured and intelligent. The elderly woman, an ex-teacher, travelling on a route that crossed mine at this point, seemed to know an astonishing number of places where I had been and many of my personal friends. We talked of education, religion and Problems with a capital P.

The fourth guest did not join in. His rough clothes and his deep tan suggested the man of action, but he was not handy with words. I tried to draw him into the conversation.

"Do tell them," I said, "the story you told me today on the bus."

But he shook his head and smiled. He had the shyness as well as the gentleness, which is so often found with really tough men. Earlier in the day he had done me the honour of treating me as a 'mate.' But now the atmosphere was different—intellectually overwhelming, I suspected.

I had been travelling alone in the First Class Compartment—not by choice, but because a European may not travel otherwise than First in Northern Rhodesia.

At a wayside halt he had boarded the bus, half apologetically, as though he feared to intrude on my solitude. He wore a leather windjammer and canvas slacks. His story had come out disjointedly; but by patient question-

ing I had pieced it together; and this was the gist of it.

He was a prospector and something of a hunter, too, with a love for the bush and the open spaces that recalled the works of Jack London—of whom (as I rightly guessed) he'd never even heard. It did not surprise me to learn, later, that he had been amateur middle-weight champion of Northern Rhodesia. His parents were South African Dutch and his father had lived just as the son loved to live himself. They were natural pioneers.

Very recently an African, working under him, had asked for leave. "My Old Boy," as he regularly called this man, was facing a domestic crisis. Another man had run off with his wife and action was required. Leave was granted.

The next news of "My Old Boy" was that he was in jail, on a three months' sentence for assault. I don't want to discuss the rights and wrongs of this; I am merely concerned here with the way the Dutch prospector reacted and what he did. It is a human story worth remembering if one begins to think racially. Dr. Malan is not the only person who thinks racially—it is necessary to be reminded sometimes that his own people—like the Africans—are human beings.

"I couldn't let my old boy down," explained the prospector, "he'd been with me for five years." So he had travelled for two days by bus, chartered a car and driven another ninety miles (He was not a wealthy man). Then he walked sixty miles through the bush.

"Sixty miles?"

"Yes. In two days. I'm used to it in my job. I slept in the bush. If there had been lions about I'd have slept up a tree. I've done that before now. And I've always got my rifle." He fondled it, lovingly.

He bailed his man out and somehow arranged to have the case submitted to an Appeal Court in his own district, to which he

was returning. I don't know how this is done, but he did it. He said he would defend the man himself when the case came up. He was confident because of the provocation and because of other arguments.

Remembering this I felt that the minister, the lady and I were indeed the Stage Army of the Good; but here was something that not one of us, perhaps, would have done. At table the Dutch prospector was almost as out of place as his Old Boy would have been. Only once did he come into the conversation. It was to describe some remarkable paintings in caves that I was to pass the next day. Naturally I expressed interest.

To please me he travelled the next morning on the Ndola bus, though he was bound for Broken Hill. Once more we were the only two in the First Class. These buses make long halts; and it was not difficult, after nearly three hours, to persuade the African driver to stop so that the two mad Europeans could go and look for the caves. "My Old Boy" was, of course, on the bus. He was a man of roughly the same age as his boss—about forty, I should judge—in a rakish green hat, a faded blue coat and a battered pair of striped trousers, as (once) worn by city gents. He came with us.

We plunged through bush and over rocks where little grew but huge cacti. My guide and the "Old Boy" had the eyes of trackers and they found everything imaginable—except the caves. The prospector had only been there once before, but he was deeply mortified. His language would probably not have pleased the minister or the lady at the hotel.

Only after an hour and a quarter did we return, dusty and defeated, to the bus. For once I did not feel ashamed that a European whom should be allowed such privilege. "The Old Boy" would have told all the Africans about his boss. My friend, I knew, was to them a hero; and heroes can do no wrong.

Deadly Boomerangs

No piloted aeroplane can hope to outmanoeuvre guided rockets of the type the British are now developing . . . These will be followed by other types for use in . . . bombardment roles.

The Observer, August 23, 1953.

Now that Russia has exploded a hydrogen bomb, Washington expects a new peace move by Moscow . . .

Sunday Times, August 23, 1953.

. . . in Australia at least guided missiles are no novelty. No one should be allowed to forget the boomerang.

News Chronicle, August 24, 1953.

THE abortive attempts to discredit the reality of Russia's hydrogen bomb have been rapidly followed by a detailed description of Britain's rocket defence against jet bombers.

It is a strange, and perhaps a fatal lack of logical thinking that causes all nations to adopt the same formula and follow the same pattern, not only in the kind of weapons they use, but in their policy towards one another.

So far as weapons are concerned, any scientific discovery for the "bigger and better" destruction of human beings and all their works, is always followed, just as in the days of bows and arrows, armour and coats of mail, by a new means of defence against the latest weapon.

It has, however, been admitted that some bombers must always get through the defence, and this assurance has given to the possessors of the atom bomb an advantage which they have constantly declared would prevent Russia from going to war.

Now, it seems that the atom bomb has become something of a boomerang since fear of its use is no longer confined only to the enemy, and new guided missiles are needed to show that aeroplanes carrying it, or the hydrogen bomb, can be brought down without the loss of planes or pilots.

Nothing is said, however, as to the destination of the bomb when its carrier is destroyed by rockets; it is scarcely to be supposed that it will have enough understanding of English "cricket" to acknowledge defeat and refuse to explode! Bringing down the "doodle-bugs" was a mere gesture of defiance and did not save the people on whom they descended from death and mutilation.

In that remarkable play by Karel Capek, "R.U.R.," the machines called Robots, made in the image of man and woman, performing the same functions except that of procreation, eventually overwhelmed the human race and destroyed it. If the wars of the future are to be waged by "electronic brains" endeavouring to outwit each other 30,000 feet above the earth, it is possible that the result will be, as in the original version of that play, the total destruction of the human race.

Yet men continue to reiterate that futile slogan: "Negotiation through strength." There seems to be a kind of blind spot in the Western Powers which prevents them from seeing that in exactly the same way as nations compete in armaments, so they also compete for the position of strength from which to negotiate.

A secret weapon is, in fact, never a secret, since its main value in a "cold" war is the widest possible advertisement for the purpose of proving strength. It has often been said here, that the saturation point where both sides are strong enough according to their own

standards of necessity, may be the point at which war becomes inevitable.

Yet this sinister pattern continues to be woven, and the fact that recently Russia seems to have made some concessions has been explained in terms of their relative weakness. Therefore, the awkward situation which develops when Russia responds with a hydrogen bomb is met with the scathing comment that no doubt there will now be another "peace" move.

But surely that is the whole basis and policy of the "negotiation through strength" policy, and it becomes more and more obvious that Russia has made all her moves from the same policy advocated by the Western Powers; the good or evil she has accepted the formula she follows the same pattern; she will, in fact, negotiate from strength.

If this is to be the only policy for all nations, then obviously strength must be maintained, and it would appear that the prize for first place will go to the best equipped. Robots; in fact we are in process of handing over our consciences to machines.

It is a relief to find the News Chronicle pointing the moral of the Australian boomerang; it is in Australia that Britain is to test, not rockets for defence but for bombardment, and it is to be hoped that before that boomerang rebounds upon this island, the people of Great Britain will awake from their witless apathy and make the world ring with their protests.

Justice, brotherhood the conditions of peace say speakers at Fellowship Conference

PACIFISTS should identify themselves more actively with the needy, the persecuted and the exploited, for that was the way to brotherhood, said Andre Trocme of France, Secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation at the British For's annual summer conference recently.

We are called upon to participate in the creative power of God, said Pastor Trocme. Our civilisation, based as it is on violence, stands under divine judgment. The Christian stands her Master when she concentrates solely on personal salvation. Christian pacifists should be more actively concerned for the achievement of social justice for all peoples.

The value of every man

A society which recognised the value of every man, concluded Mr. Trocme, exhibited real justice. The destruction of any person contributed to the destruction of the Universe.

Mr. John Ferguson, Chairman of the Fellowship, who followed, said that the commitment of the world-wide Christian community to peace and against all war would enable it to become an effective channel of God's transforming power, capable ultimately of defeating aggressive forces.

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